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BULGARIA

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS



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This is volume 2 in a series of nine booklets. The Assembly of Captive European Nations undertook the publication of the series in response to numerous demands. Also, since much of the existing literature on East-Central Europe has been written from the outsider's point of view, there seems to be a need for informative material bearing the stamp of authenticity and first hand experience. Each booklet has been prepared by experts of the respective National Committee.

BULGARIA

Prepared by
Bulgarian National Committee

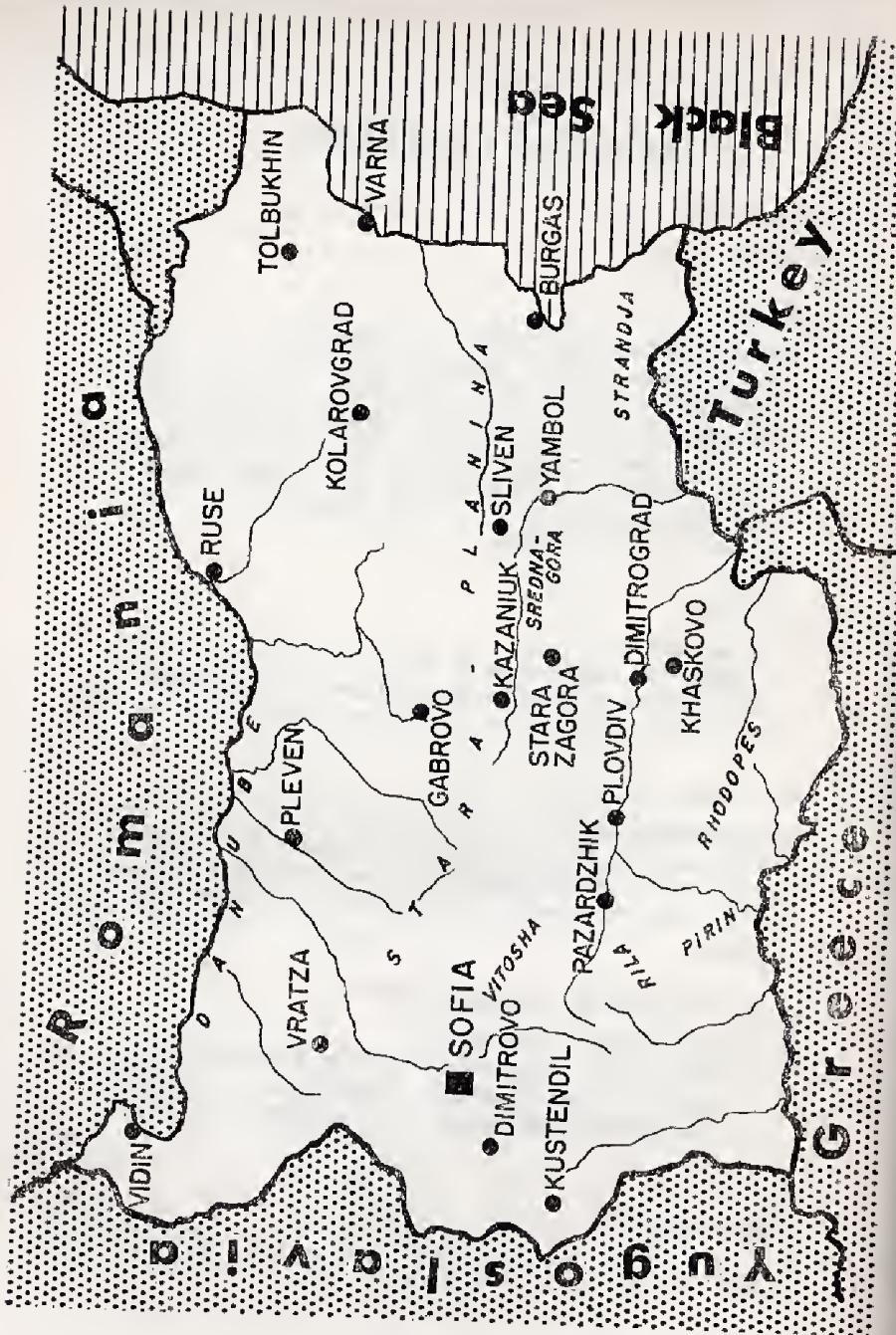
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I. G E O G R A P H Y

BULGARIA lies east of the Black Sea and south of the Danube River, which is the principal divisionary line separating Bulgaria from its northern neighbor, Romania. In the west, Bulgaria borders on Yugoslavia. To the south, the curving north-eastern wing of Greece and the westward extension of Turkey, reaching from Asia Minor across the Bosphorus into Europe, cuts Bulgaria off from a southern outlet to the Aegean Sea (the Sea of Marmora). This particular area, which links the south-eastern corner of Europe to Asia Minor, is called the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, Bulgaria serves as a natural bridge between Europe and the Near East and Asia.

Physiographically, present-day Bulgaria takes on the vague appearance of a rectangle whose rigid borders have become wavy and irregular. Its geographic latitude roughly approximates the position of New York state in the western hemisphere; its size is similar to the state of Tennessee.

The capital city, Sofia, is in the west-central part, not far from the Yugoslav border. Plovdiv, the second largest city, lies on the Thracian Plain, between the Balkan and Rhodope Mountains, in the south-central part. Varna, the principal sea-port, harbors on the Black Sea, as does Burgas to the south. Tirnovo, Gabrovo and Pleven are other important cities of the north on the Danubian Plain. Russe is the major river port on the Danube, west of the oft-disputed region of Dobrudja that fronts on the Black Sea.

The Balkan Mountain Chain, or *Stara Planina*, runs across the middle of the country, dividing it north and south. Above the Balkans stretches the region of the Danubian plain. Several rivers drain north across the plain into the Danube basin. Below the Balkans,

the highest mountain peak in the Balkan Peninsula, Mt. Musala, climbs to a height of 8,683 feet. From the Rila Mountains flow the three largest rivers within the borders of Bulgaria: the Iskar, the Maritsa and the Mesta. The Maritsa is the largest of the three. The Struma is yet another important inland river in the south-west.

The country is mountainous, with a variety of mountain slopes, plains and rivers. In addition, one entire side of the Bulgarian rectangle is seacoast washed by the Black Sea. These favorable geographical factors, together with a favorable climate, have been conducive to agriculture, stock raising and forestry. Principal crops include cereals, grapes, potatoes, silkworm, roses, tobacco, etc.

Vital statistics are as follows:

<i>Area:</i>	42,785 sq. miles
<i>Latitude:</i>	44°12'50" to 41°14'12"
<i>Longitude:</i>	22°21'35" to 23°36'37"
<i>Population:</i>	7,613,709 (1956 census); 8,046,000 (preliminary data, 1962)
<i>Population Density:</i>	179 per sq. mile (1956 census)
<i>Largest Cities:</i>	Sofia . . . 726,000 Plovdiv . . . 163,000 Varna . . . 120,000 Russe . . . 83,000 Burgas . . . 73,000

All figures are taken from the 1956 census. In 1946, rural and urban population statistics were 74% and 26%, respectively. In 1956, these figures had altered to 65% rural and 35% urban population.

<i>Ethnic Groups:</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1952</i>
Bulgarians (Slavs)	86.8%	91%
Turks	10.2%	6%
Gypsies	1.3%	2%
Jews	0.5%	0.04%
Others	1.2%	0.96%

Languages: Bulgarian (Slavonic) is the principal language. Turkish is spoken by the Turkish minority and Old Spanish by the Jewish minority, leading all other minority language groups. The two leading minority language groups have been lessened in numbers under the Communist regime by the flight of native Turks and Jews to other lands.

Religion: The exact percentage of religious followers is impossible to give at present because the Communist regime frowns on religion, seeking to discourage it. Yet while all means are used to decrease the power and authority of the church, the Communist regime paradoxically finds it expedient to promote propaganda through the church. Under these circumstances, wherein religious expression is not conducted freely, a greater part of the Bulgarian population can be described as Greek Orthodox. Mohammedanism is the second largest religion. There also exists a very small percentage of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and others.

<i>Mining:</i>	Coal	20,800,000 tons (1962)
	Iron	628,000 tons (1962)
	Copper	93,000 tons (1962)
	Uranium	Output controlled by Soviet Union, kept secret
	Lead and Zinc	1,500,000 tons (1956)
	Oil	207,000 tons (1961)

Crude mineral oil deposits are concentrated at Varna, near the Black Sea coast, and in the Pleven district. The latter, discovered in 1962, promise to satisfy the country's needs completely.

There are about 400 mineral springs, the most famous of which are the baths of Hisara, Merichleri and Separevo.

II.

H I S T O R Y

THE SLAVS came to the Balkan Peninsula from the eastern regions of the Russian steppe in the 5th century. During the course of the next two and a half centuries, they continued to penetrate the area, pushing back the local hellenized population, particularly in the region of Thrace and Macedonia. At the end of this period, the Slavs covered the entire peninsula, except for the coast, where the settled inhabitants relied upon the military force of Byzantium to prevent the new settlers from moving into their area.

The Byzantine emperors did not look upon the Slavs as enemies, for the Slavs were extremely peaceful tribes. They settled down without any aggressive or political intentions. They were simply good farmers and stock breeders. In time, the Slavic settlers were called upon to fight alongside the Byzantines against the enemies of Byzantium. Thus, the gradual settlement of Slavic farmers and herdsmen in the Balkans was looked upon favorably at the ruling court in Byzantium.

Sometime after 650 A.D., a strong force of Old Bulgarians appeared at the banks of the Danube that nowadays divides Romania from Bulgaria. The Old Bulgarians were commanded by their khan, Asparukh. They settled in North Dobrudja, from where they initiated raids on Byzantine territory. These Old Bulgarians had come from the country lying between the Volga River and its tributary, the Kama. They were far more politically minded than the Slavs, who had absorbed small migrant groups of Old Bulgarians into their communities in preceding centuries. The Old Bulgarians, being good organizers, soon extended their political sway over the Slavs and gave them their name and a sense of unity and leadership; they

adopted from the Slavs their language and a greater sense of democratic policy.

Hellenic Byzantium at this time was busy fighting the Arabs. But in 679, the Byzantine emperor Constantine II waged war against the Old Bulgarians. Constantine's army was severely defeated and he was forced to sign a peace treaty according tribute to the Bulgarian khan and ceding to him all the territory that today comprises Bulgaria.

The fusion of Slavs and Old Bulgarians into a people called Bulgarian continued. The Bulgarians expanded their territory south into Thrace and Macedonia as well as west along the Danube basin into Central Europe. In 811, the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I, jealous of the growing power of the Bulgarians, led his army forth into Bulgaria. This Greek expedition ended disastrously. The emperor was killed and his army destroyed. In 813, the new Byzantine emperor, Michael, drew up a stronger Byzantine army and attacked the Bulgarians. The Byzantines were so badly routed that the survivors were safe only upon reaching the walls of Byzantium. King Krum of Bulgaria besieged Byzantium. When matters looked darkest for the Byzantines, King Krum—as chance would have it—fell ill and died. The Bulgarians withdrew after obtaining the promise of a yearly tribute to be paid to them by Byzantium.

1. The Golden Age

The most important Bulgarian ruler after King Krum was King Boris I. In 865, he accepted the Byzantine form of Christianity as the official Bulgarian religion. But rivalry and strife with Byzantium continued. Byzantium wished to hellenize the Bulgarians and assimilate them as Byzantines. They sought to do this through peaceful means, such as the use of Greek as the language of church and state. This might have succeeded but for two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, who invented an alphabet for the Old Bulgarian language, which in a modified form is today called "Cyrillic." King Boris I gave every encouragement to the spread of Cyrillic, for in this way the Old Bulgarian language could vie with Greek in church ritual and ecclesiastical literature. But Cyrillic was not confined to Bulgaria alone; it spread to other Slavic countries, such as Serbia and Russia.

The Bulgarian First Kingdom reached its greatest expansion under King Simeon I, who ascended the throne in 893. King Simeon defended his country from Byzantine attack, which triggered a

25-year war. The Bulgarians besieged Byzantium but failed to capture it. The reigns of King Boris and his son King Simcon are considered the golden age of the Bulgarian people in which their national identity was firmly established.

Shortly after the death of King Simeon in 927, the First Bulgarian Kingdom declined. Bulgaria was exhausted after two centuries of conflict with the Byzantine empire. Byzantine influences helped to separate the Bulgarian aristocracy from the overwhelming mass of commoners by encouraging them to adopt the ways of oriental pomp and splendor. Byzantine Christianity became the religion of the elite, while the common people took to the teachings of Father Bogomil. The Bogomil creed—heretical in the eyes of the Greek Orthodox Church—spread throughout the Balkans from the 10th century on and lasted as a popular religion for about 500 years. The Bogomils believed in primitive Christianity; they were opposed to church organization, ritual, and the host of saints. The rifts caused by the Bogomil movement helped to bring about the downfall of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, in 1014, at the hands of the Byzantine empire.

The defeat of the Bulgarians came in the reign of King Samuil at the end of a 14-year war. King Samuil's army fell into an ambush by the river Struma. Some 15,000 Bulgarians were captured. The Byzantine emperor, Basil II, ordered the captives blinded, leaving every hundredth man to receive this dreadful punishment only in one eye. Thus, the 150 one-eyed men could lead their blinded fellows back to their own country. When King Samuil saw his army return in this pitiful condition, he fell dead. With him fell the First Bulgarian Kingdom.

2. The Second Kingdom

From 1014 to 1186, Bulgaria was under the Byzantine yoke. Greek was imposed upon Bulgaria as a religious language, since the Byzantine emperor sought to absorb Bulgaria as a Byzantine province. But the Bulgarian national identity was too strong to be so easily pushed into the background and forgotten. Several Bulgarian uprisings erupted, but were crushed. Finally, in 1186, the Bulgarians liberated themselves under the leadership of the brothers Peter and Ivan Asen.

Peter was proclaimed king of Bulgaria. His first task was to re-establish the independence of the Bulgarian church and restore

Bulgarian as a religious and literary medium in place of Greek. But there was no peace with the Byzantines. In 1196, Peter was killed after the Bulgarians had won a signal victory over the Greeks. Peter's younger brother, Ivan Asen, also called Ksloyan, ascended the throne. He became one of the greatest kings of Bulgaria. He continued the war against the Byzantines, defeating their armies several times. He succeeded in liberating all Bulgarian lands and uniting them within the borders of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom.

Ivan Asen II succeeded his father. He continued the work of uniting the Bulgarian people and expanding the country's borders. Bulgarian victories included the defeat and capture of Teodor, the emperor of Epir, who ruled over western Greece. Byzantium had, in 1204, fallen to the Romans. The Bulgarians laid siege to the city but found it in their best interest to withdraw, believing that the Romans were less of a threat to them than the Greeks.

A succession of weak rulers followed Ivan Asen II. In 1331, Ivan Alexander came to the throne and ruled with vigor for thirty years. Under him, the Second Bulgarian Kingdom again reached heights of greatness. But on the passing of Ivan Alexander, his three sons all wanted to succeed him. Their rivalry divided the country and brought about its downfall at the hands of a neighboring enemy. This time it was not the Greeks who overran the country, but the Turks. The capital Tirnovo was seized by the Turks in 1393.

3. The Turkish Yoke

On the order of Sultan Bayazid, leader of the Moslem Turks, the Bulgarian national church was virtually destroyed. The Bulgarian clergy were either killed or forced to flee. Byzantium, now better known by its second name, Constantinople, sought to re-establish earlier Greek patterns in the language of the Bulgarian church.

In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Turks. The Turkish Ottoman empire now ruled over the Balkans as ancient Byzantium, at its height of power, had once done. The Turks found it politically expedient to sanction the Greek Orthodox Church, which was centered in Constantinople. This sanction became an unwritten alliance between the Turks and the Greeks, which lasted for four centuries. Under this alliance, the Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman empire—especially the Slavs—were subordinated to the Turks politically and to the Greeks spiritually.

This meant a dark age for the Bulgarian national spirit, worse than any suffered under the Greeks alone. Bulgarian books were burned and Bulgarian as a language and literary medium was officially replaced in church liturgy by Greek. The Bulgarian language was not even spoken in public any more. Instead, Bulgarians spoke Turkish with the Turks and Greek with the Greeks.

4. The National Revival

In this dark period there appeared an unknown Bulgarian monk at the monastery of Mt. Athos. His name was Father Paisi. Embittered by the rapid denationalization of the Bulgarians, he decided to write the first Bulgarian history in order to recall the glories of Bulgaria's past when Byzantium had known severe defeat at the hands of Bulgarian kings. Father Paisi's history begins with the words:

*O thou foolish and fallen man, why art thou ashamed
to call thyself a Bulgarian...*

Father Paisi completed his Slovono-Bulgarian history by hand in 1762. It was secretly copied by the few priests who could still read and write in Bulgarian.

From this time forward, the national aspirations of Bulgarians pointed in two directions: 1) church independence, and 2) political freedom. In the beginning, the requests of the Bulgarians were modest. First, they wanted to have bishops who spoke the Bulgarian language. Later on, they requested Bulgarian bishops. Finally, they set forth their requests for an independent Bulgarian Church.

The Greek Orthodox Patriarchy rejected all Bulgarian requests, for they wished to maintain their control over the Bulgarian Church. The ruling hierarchy of the Ottoman empire did not impede the Bulgarian national revival, which expressed itself in the area of religion. In fact, the Turks looked favorably on the Bulgarian Church claims. In 1870, the Turks decided to recognize the legality of the Bulgarian request for an independent national Church, hoping to keep Bulgaria in line politically by such a friendly move. Thus, despite the opposition of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchy, the Bulgarian Exarchate was established in 1871 by a Bulgarian National Synod (council) convened for this purpose in Constantinople. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchy immediately excommunicated the Bulgarian Exarchate, proclaiming it schismatic. This declaration of schism was not rescinded until 1945, when the breach was healed by mutual agreement.

A revolutionary movement for political liberation existed parallel with the Bulgarian national revival movement in church and cultural affairs. It came to be centered in Romania. The Ottoman empire was decaying and the Slavic peoples who had been subjugated by the Turks were beginning to rise. One such uprising in Bulgaria was brutally crushed by the Turks in 1876. The Turks massacred the entire population of two mountain towns, Batak and Perushitsa, in the heart of the area where the uprising had taken place. Over 1,000 people were burnt alive in a church. News of the "Bulgarian Massacres" caused England and Russia to intervene on a diplomatic level. Both countries were eyeing the strategic Balkan Straits, which virtually assure the controlling power dominance of the eastern Mediterranean. At the conference table, England and Russia succeeded in presenting a plan for the division of Bulgaria into an eastern and western half, each to be autonomous.

Failure to realize the agreements of the conference caused Russia to declare war on Turkey under the pretext of liberating the Bulgarian people from their Turkish yoke. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, England came to the aid of Turkey, seriously concerned with the rights of its ships in the waterways bordering Turkey, particularly the Balkan Straits. The war ended with the Treaty of San Stefano. This treaty was so favorable to Bulgaria and the Russian interests that another peace congress was called by the interested European powers at Berlin. The Berlin congress scrapped the Treaty of San Stefano and divided Bulgaria into three parts: Bulgaria proper; Eastern Rumelia, an autonomous province with a governor appointed by the Turks; Macedonia and Thrace, left under complete Turkish domination.

5. The Balkan Wars and World War I

The Bulgarian people unanimously objected to the Berlin treaty and were left embittered by it. The Balkans had now become the scene of keen international rivalries, with Bulgaria caught in the middle of it all. The Bulgarian goals remained those of uniting themselves and realizing their national aspirations. Political unrest continued. In 1912, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia united to drive out the Turks from their lands. They were successful, largely due to the Bulgarians. But after the fighting against the Turks was over, quarreling broke out among the victors. A second Balkan war was the result. When in 1913 the Bulgarians moved against the Greeks and the Serbs, Romania attacked Bulgaria from the north and the

Turks returned in force. Bulgaria could not fight four enemies at once. A peace treaty was signed in Bucharest the same year. Much Bulgarian territory was parcelled out to Romania, Serbia and Greece.

The following year, World War I broke out. Courted by both sides for her central location in the Balkans, Bulgaria turned away from the Allies and joined in 1915 the Central European Powers (Germany and Austro-Hungary). One of the decisive factors that drove Bulgaria from the Allied camp was fear of Russian interest in the Balkan Straits. Nevertheless, there was much internal opposition to Bulgarian alignment with Germany within Bulgaria itself.

The war ended with the defeat of Germany and the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Bulgaria suffered a loss of territory to Romania, Serbia and Greece; she was also deprived of its outlet on the Aegean Sea. The peace treaty of 1919 gave to Greece the right to expatriate Bulgarians living in Thrace and Macedonia. Bulgaria, seeing herself surrounded by enemies, emerged from the war feeling that she had been treated unjustly. The country then came under the unstable reign of King Boris III.

6. King Boris and the Central European Powers

Under King Boris, there followed a succession of premiers who were either overthrown or used repressive measures against their political enemies. Stambolisky, the head of the Agrarian Party, was the first of these premiers. He was an extremely important figure in formulating economic policies constructive to the nation, such as the land reform. But in 1923 the Stambolisky government was overthrown in a coup, and Stambolisky was murdered.

The rise to power of Dr. Stoyadinovich, a pro-fascist, in neighboring Yugoslavia, contributed to the increase of Bulgarian negotiations with Central European powers. As Bulgaria could not turn to the Soviet Union or any of her neighbors for assistance, she turned instead to Germany and Italy.

In 1930, King Boris married Princess Giovanna, daughter of the king of Italy. This brought Bulgaria even closer to Italy. In 1930, the Balkan Conference was held, in which Yugoslavia and Romania sought to prevent Bulgaria from demanding back any territory ceded away in the World War I peace treaty. In 1934, the Balkan Pact followed, with the same end in view, signed by Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Romania.

In 1935, King Boris succeeded in establishing himself as an absolute sovereign; he ruled without political parties and legal opposition. Under his rule trade with Germany gradually increased until it reached a point, in 1939, where Germany accounted for 67% of Bulgaria's exports and 65% of its imports. These figures rose even higher during the war years, when Bulgaria remained tied to Germany in the hope of restoring some of her lost territory. This did, in fact, happen in regard to southern Dobrudja, which Romania was forced to return to Bulgaria.

7. World War II

In 1940, the foreign ministers of Russia and Germany, Molotov and von Ribbentrop, met in Berlin. Molotov sought Germany's aid in establishing Soviet influence in Bulgaria. Germany refused and shortly afterwards prepared for war against the Soviet Union. Immediately after the discussions in Berlin, Germany called upon the smaller countries that had looked to it as a protector against Russia to join the Tripartite Pact (Germany, Italy and Japan). This meant that they were to place their territory at the disposal of the German Army. Romania, Hungary and Slovakia joined as requested. Bulgaria tried to remain neutral. But German troops began pouring into Romania. At the same time Turkey had signed a pact with England and threatened Bulgaria from the east. A Turkish-Bulgarian declaration of friendship was eventually negotiated. Then, on March 1, 1941, Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Pact. That same day German troops crossed into Bulgaria.

German activities in the Balkans against Greece and Yugoslavia were conducted with the passive co-operation of Bulgaria. Germany rewarded Bulgaria by returning to her Macedonian territory formerly appropriated by Yugoslavia and Greece. In the German war against Russia, Bulgaria did not contribute troops. But Bulgarian territory remained a base for German operations against the Soviet Union.

At the end of January 1943, the great German catastrophe at Stalingrad occurred. The Soviet army then took the offensive in order to drive the Germans out of Russia. The offensive moved in several directions, one of which aimed south-west toward the Danube River and the Balkans, with the ultimate goal of entering Bulgaria and reaching the Balkan Straits.

King Boris began negotiating with his father-in-law, King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, for a way out of the war. Hitler learned of this

and summoned King Boris to Germany. Shortly after Boris' return to Bulgaria, he became ill and died. A puppet German government was installed in Bulgaria under Dobri Bozhilov and the Regent Filov. The Allies had tried earlier that year to negotiate secretly with the Bulgarians to have them break with the Germans. Bulgaria maintained that, since no Bulgarian troops were fighting, she was neutral. The United States warned Bulgaria that if she did not openly break with the Germans, she would suffer air strikes against her major cities.

8. Soviet Designs on the Balkans

Two fateful decisions were taken at the Allied Conference in Teheran at the end of 1943. The bombardment of Bulgaria was agreed upon. Also, Bulgaria and Romania were declared Soviet zones of interest until the end of the war. This meant that the fate of the two Balkan countries was left in the hands of the Soviet Union. Another important decision taken in Teheran was to support the Communist leader Tito in Yugoslavia rather than the nationalist guerilla leader, Mihailovich.

In accordance with these agreements, Sofia was heavily bombed in January and March, 1944, and almost completely destroyed. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union answered claims of neutrality by demanding that Bulgaria open all of her Soviet consulates. This, of course, the Bulgarians could not do since German troops were still in the country. At the same time, Bulgarian guerillas engaged units of the pro-Nazi government in fierce fighting.

The Bozhilov government was replaced by that of Ivan Bagrianov in June 1944. For two months Bagrianov stalled on clearing out the Germans from Varna and Burgas, as the Soviet demanded of him to show proof of Bulgaria's neutrality. Confused and weak leadership marked Bulgaria's actions in these hectic days. A Bulgarian delegation went to the Cairo Conference to conclude an armistice, which never really got off the ground. In late August, the Russians, with Romanian help, reached the Danubian frontier of Bulgaria. Thus, the Red Army was poised for an invasion of Bulgaria.

On September 2, 1944, Konstantin Moraviev replaced Bagrianov and his administration. On the morning of September 5, the Soviet representative appeared before Moraviev to discuss the situation. Russia considered that she had vital interests at stake in the Balkans, particularly in regard to the Straits. The Soviet representative wired his government that it was his feeling that the new Bulgarian govern-

ment was not different from the old ones. On this basis, doubtlessly prearranged, Russia declared war on Bulgaria with instructions to the invading general, Marshal Tolbukhin, to "bend the neck of the treacherous enemy." Four days later, the Russians accepted Bulgaria's surrender, occupying the country with all the rights of a conqueror.

9. The Intervention of the Red Army

The Moraviev government had attempted to change Bulgaria's pro-German foreign policy. It declared war on Germany on September 8, 1944. The Russians heard of this decision several days before it came to pass, and declared war on Bulgaria on September 5, before the declaration against Germany was put into effect. Their purpose was to have a legal excuse for occupying and subjugating Bulgaria while it was technically still allied with Germany.

After the Red Army invaded Bulgaria, a *coup* was staged by the Bulgarian armed forces on September 9, 1944, and a new government was established. It included representatives of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the largest political organization in the country, together with Communists, Social Democrats and minority groups. In order to facilitate an armistice agreement, the non-Communist elements in the government were forced to agree to the occupation of Bulgaria by the Red Army. On October 28, 1944, Bulgaria signed in Moscow an armistice agreement with the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

Following the Bulgarian *coup* of September 9, 1944, the Communists, aided and abetted by the Red Army, started mass executions of their enemies. The victims were branded as "Fascists." The Soviet military authorities and their Bulgarian henchmen gradually gained full control over the Bulgarian Army by purging the officers' corps of those they termed "Fascist." This was the most important feature of Soviet intervention in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian minister of defense tried to make a distinction between a tiny minority of army officers who had Fascist records and the great majority whose only responsibility was in carrying out their government's instructions or obeying the orders of their superiors. The Soviet commander charged the Bulgarian minister of defense with protection of "Fascist officers" and threatened the direct intervention of Soviet armed forces.

The Soviet commander, General Biryuzov, constantly interfered in Bulgarian internal affairs. He demanded the ouster of Dr. G. M.

Dimitrov from his position of Secretary General of the Bulgarian Peasant Party. When this was refused, General Biryuzov ordered the arrest of Dr. Dimitrov. (Fifteen years later, General Biryuzov boasted of his personal part in the subjugation of Bulgaria, in an article in *Rabotnicheskoe Delo*, organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, dated September 6, 1959; he also vehemently attacked the leaders of the Bulgarian Peasant Party, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov and the late Nicholas Petkov.)

The Bulgarian Communist leaders have consistently acknowledged, in statements published in the press, that communism would have never been established in Bulgaria without the presence of the Red Army. The pressure exerted by the Red Army led to the transformation of the coalition Cabinet, established in September 1944, into a Communist administration by July 1945. This Communist regime was not independent and sovereign but subservient to the Soviet Union. It did not and does not represent the free will of the Bulgarian people.

In July 1945, the Soviets announced that elections would take place within a month and that there would be only one ticket, the list of the "Fatherland Front". The leader of the Peasant Party, Nicholas Petkov, who was then still a member of the government, forwarded, in the name of his organization, a memorandum to the Allied Control Commission in Bulgaria. He requested Allied supervision of the ballot in order to ensure free elections in accordance with the principles set forth at Yalta. The Bulgarian Communists, without prior notification of Petkov, announced that he had "resigned" as deputy premier. In protest, all the remaining Cabinet ministers belonging to the Peasant Party, the Social Democrats and the Independent Intellectuals handed in their resignations.

At this point, the British and American governments intervened. Apparently yielding to their pressure, the Russians advised the Sofia regime to postpone the elections and to admit opposition candidates. Petkov was allowed to re-establish his party headquarters and to publish his own paper.

These improvements, however, did not last for long. In violation of their agreement, the Communist-dominated Sofia regime announced that the elections would be held on November 18, 1945. The opposition parties decided to boycott the elections. Only one list of candidates was drawn up, headed by the Communist Party. In December 1945, the Three Big Powers held a conference in Moscow. They met to deal with the state of affairs in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. They adopted a "compromise" solution for Bulgaria, which provided

for two representatives of the opposition parties to be included in the Communist government.

10. The Liquidation of Political Opponents

In January 1946, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky arrived in Sofia and insisted on the implementation of the Moscow decision. Vishinsky met with Nicholas Petkov, the leader of the United Democratic Opposition. Vishinsky threatened Petkov and told him that he had to accept Stalin's fiat. Petkov retorted that he had never received orders from any foreign official but only from his people and his organization. The Social Democratic leader, Kosta Lulchev, following Petkov's example, also refused to enter the Cabinet.

In the same year, the Communist-dominated Sofia regime decided to call new elections for a Constituent Assembly whose task would be to draw up and adopt a new constitution. The elections took place on October 27, 1946. During the weeks preceding the balloting, a reign of terror was launched against the Bulgarian people. More than twenty candidates or supporters of the Democratic Opposition were killed; thousands were molested, arrested and tortured. On the eve of the elections, the overwhelming majority of the opposition delegates, who were at the polling stations to supervise the balloting and assist in counting votes, were seized by the Communist secret police and beaten. This is why in most of the polling stations only Communist delegates tabulated the votes. Only a few of the returns published by the Communist authorities were actually checked by the opposition.

The Constituent Assembly returned in these elections was made up of 364 Communists and fellow travelers, and 101 deputies for the Democratic Opposition. This Assembly, elected under a notorious reign of terror, in no way expressed the will of the Bulgarian people. Nevertheless, a relatively powerful opposition group of 92 deputies of the Peasant Party, 8 deputies of the Social Democratic Party and 1 Independent Intellectual were returned. During the winter of 1946-1947, the leaders of the Democratic Opposition, and Nicholas Petkov in particular, availed themselves of their constitutional and parliamentary immunity by denouncing overt Communist methods of intimidation and persecution.

Unfortunately, when the Communist administration in Bulgaria signed the Peace Treaty on February 10, 1947, it obtained recognition as the official Bulgarian government from the Western Powers. Thereafter, the Communist regime had no reason any longer to

permit the existence of opposition parties; it swiftly proceeded to liquidate them. Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, Secretary General of the Peasant Party, was arrested in January 1945. He was able to leave the country only through the intervention of the American political representative. From 1945 to 1947, thousands of members and followers of the Peasant Party were arrested and tortured. On June 5, 1947, Nicholas Petkov, an outspoken leader of the Democratic Opposition, was arrested in the Parliament. At the same time, all opposition deputies were savagely attacked by 300 agents of the Communist security police. After a mock trial on trumped-up charges of conspiracy, Nicholas Petkov was sentenced to death on August 16. He was hanged on September 23, 1947.

At the end of August 1947, the Peasant Party was outlawed as a "party of conspiracy." Thus, the real aim of Petkov's trial was laid bare: the suppression of all legal parliamentary opposition. The Democratic Party had already been banned in the wake of the October 1946 elections. After the Peasant Party was outlawed, all Peasant deputies were arrested and sent to prison or concentration camps. The following year, 1948, saw the Social Democratic deputies meet the same fate. Their party was also outlawed.

In this way, the legal apparatus of the opposition parties was destroyed. A 100 per cent totalitarian regime was set up in Bulgaria by the Soviets. A handful of left-wing Socialists was absorbed by the Communist Party. The tiny group "Zveno" merged itself with the "Fatherland Front." A few tame servers of the Peasant Party are still in the government pretending to represent an independent "Peasant Party," but they are mere Communist agents.

11. The Sovietization of Bulgaria

All so-called "elections" in Bulgaria are now carried out in the same way as in the Soviet Union, i.e., a single ballot list is presented by the Communist Party and government. Opposition is not allowed; it has even been branded as sedition.

Bulgaria has been completely sovietized. The Communists imposed a constitution of their own making in December 1947, and are preparing a new one which will be modeled even more closely on the Soviet Constitution. All life is organized on the Soviet pattern. The Communist Party is the only source of power in subjugated Bulgaria. The Party organization closely follows the Soviet model. It is made up of a Central Committee, the Politbureau and the Secretariat.

The Bulgarian Communist Party line has always been tuned to that of Moscow. Thus, for instance, when the Soviet press extolled Stalin as a "genius-like father of the nations," Bulgarian Red newspapers echoed this high praise. As soon as Soviet publications began denouncing the "personality cult," the Sofia press dinned the same message into their readers' ears.

The administration of the country is based on provincial, district and city councils called "People's Soviets of the Workers," as in the USSR. The new administrative system, introduced in March 1959, is a replica of the "decentralization" scheme in the Soviet Union of December, 1957. In the army, the Bulgarian Communists have changed over to the system of divisions used in the Soviet armed forces. Training methods are the same as those in the Red Army. Weapons and equipment are of Soviet make. The Bulgarian high command is made up of Communists who spent all their lives in the USSR. Most of them were Soviet citizens and held a commission in the Red Army during World War II.

Culture and education are also sovietized. Hundreds of books have been translated from Russian into Bulgarian and published in millions of copies. The educational system is patterned on the Soviet model. The new Bulgarian statute on education of July 1959 is a mere copy of the Soviet law of December 1958. The purpose of this enactment, according to the *ad hoc* report of the Party Secretary, Todor Zhivkov, is to indoctrinate future Bulgarian generations, to instill hatred against all those opposed to the Communist doctrine or regime, and to increase the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

The social and economic structure of Bulgaria reflects that existing in the USSR. Industry was completely nationalized and is in the hands of the Communist state administration. Trade, both domestic and foreign, is also carried out by the state. The state owns all banking and credit institutions. The agricultural land and economy have been collectivized by the same violent means used in Soviet Russia during the early 1930's. The Bulgarian economy is utterly dependent upon the USSR. Production has been geared to dovetail with Soviet requirements. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) has apparently started a process of graduated economic integration of the entire Soviet bloc.

Exploitation has increased during the recent years. In October 1958, the Bulgarian Communists, apparently on instructions from Moscow, proclaimed the so-called "big leap forward" to implement the Five Year Plan in four years or less. This has disrupted the economic system, resulting in decreased production of consumer goods and foodstuffs, thereby compounding the already great misery

of the people. The "big leap forward" has increased opposition in all strata of society. Passive resistance and sabotage are growing. This is countered by unabated police terror. Tens of thousands of people are now in prisons and concentration camps in Bulgaria.

The sovietization of the political, legal, administrative, military, cultural, social and economical framework of Bulgaria is the best evidence of the continuous intervention of the Soviet Union in Bulgarian domestic affairs, in violation of the Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947, and of the United Nations Charter. The present Bulgarian government was forced upon the Bulgarian people by the Soviet Army. The Communist regime has never held free elections and it has never been ratified by ballot. Therefore, it does not represent the will of the Bulgarian people, and is not a truly independent and sovereign administration, but a mere tool of Moscow.

III.

ECONOMY

DURING THE five centuries of Turkish domination of Bulgaria, from 1396 to 1878, the early agrarian economy was retained under the general features of medieval serfdom. Toward the second half of the 18th century, the large land-holdings of Turkish landlords were leased on the *izpoliza* or *kisim* systems. The *izpoliza* was a share-cropping system in which half the farmer's yield was paid to the landowner as rent. The *kisim* system fixed the rent in advance between farmer and titled landholder, regardless of yield.

The trend toward urbanization and industrialization began toward the end of the 18th century. There was a considerable growth in the urban population and the number of people who earned a living by other means than farming. Thus, the primitive agrarian economy underwent a modification to meet the demands of a growing urban market. Agriculture changed over into a commodity-monetary economy with a specific market orientation. The land reform of 1834 dealt the large landholders a crushing blow, for it opened the way for a great increase in medium and small-farm ownership. Gradually, the *angaria*, or wageless farm-work, was eliminated. Crop specialization began in some districts, such as the cultivation of rice in Plovdiv and Pazardzhik and of rose oil in Karlovo, Kazanluk, etc.

The work of the artisan reached its peak in Bulgaria during the first half of the 19th century. It was stimulated by the demands of the Ottoman empire for coarse woollen cloth, belts, knitted socks, yarn, leather products and hardware. The crafts in Bulgaria, patterned on the medieval European guilds, were united in corporative organizations, in which a strict order was observed in training apprentices, journeymen and grandmasters. The purpose of the corporative

organizations was the same as that of the European guild system: to regulate production and eliminate competition. An expansion of economic activity came with the "scattered manufactory" system, whereby rich and enterprising merchants distributed raw materials to artisans and received back, in return, the finished products (yarn, aba cloth, socks, etc.), which were then sold on the Turkish market. The first machine-run weaving factory was built in this period at Sliven, in 1838.

The first railroad in Bulgaria was built between Russe and Varna during the second half of the 19th century. Trade specialization had been underway in the growing urban centers since the mid-18th century. Thus, Gabrovo and Sliven specialized in rifles, pistols and iron tools; the Rhodope area, in aba cloth.

Up to the Liberation, in 1878, Bulgarian economy was in an extremely primitive state by Western standards. It had been part of the economy of the Ottoman empire, uninfluenced by the thought of such important economic theorists as Adam Smith and David Ricardo. The economy which the new principality of Bulgaria inherited was in a transitional state between a primitive (natural) economy (with production intended to satisfy the needs of the producer rather than a market), and a modern trade economy (with production intended to satisfy the demands of a market rather than the needs of a producer).

The first Bulgarian governments to emerge from the Turkish yoke had the following objectives: redistribution of land, modernization of agricultural techniques, industrialization and export. Progress toward realization of these objectives was halted by the Balkan Wars and World War I. The cost of war and the payment of reparation debts imposed on Bulgaria after World War I, brought the country to the brink of ruin. Reforms introduced by the Stambolisky government brought about a renovation of the faltering economy. There followed a stabilizing period, notably during A. Liapchev's government (1926-29). Yet after 1934, changes of a totalitarian nature coincided with the new foreign policy orientation of Bulgaria. Trade with Germany became greater than with any other country.

After World War II, Soviet troops occupied Bulgaria. The Bulgarian economy was made over to fit the Bolshevik pattern. There followed collectivization of the land, farm mechanization, nationalization of industry, of trade, of banking and of all branches of the economy.

This is a summary of the development of the Bulgarian economy. The major economic features of the four main periods since the Liberation will be subsequently discussed in some detail.

1. From the Liberation to the End of the Century (1878-1900)

During the period of the Liberation and the years immediately following it, the landless Bulgarian peasants settled on the land that had been abandoned by the Turkish beys. This land was adequately paid for by the Bulgarian government as indemnities; the Turks who left Bulgaria also withdrew capital from the country. Thus, there was little capital left for investment.

In 1880, a law was enacted that provided peasants with the title to lands they held if they farmed the land for 10 years and paid a certain sum to the state. In this way, the former large landholdings were broken up and the Bulgarian countryside became a mosaic of small farms. A trend toward a money economy was slowly put into effect. Agriculture lost its archaic features with the increased importation of farm machinery, which rose from 21 tons in 1882 to 138 tons in 1886. Mechanization in the craft industries likewise underwent a transformation. Unfavorable tariff barriers hampered the craft industries. After the unification of North and South Bulgaria, the government concluded foreign loans to help encourage local industry. During the 1880's and 1890's, factories, railroads, harbors, and telephone and telegraph lines were built. From 1882-1885, the average yearly machinery importation amounted to 300,000 leva. From 1891 to 1895, the average yearly machinery importation amounted to 6,482,000 leva.

Newly established credit institutions and joint-stock companies were important factors in the development of the economy. While in 1887 there were only three joint-stock companies, during 1889-1890 alone 42 new joint-stock companies sprang up. Foreign trade was conducted mostly with England, Austro-Hungary and France. West European goods competed on favorable terms with the products of Bulgarian artisans and craft-industry factories. Bulgaria, bound by the Treaty of Berlin, could not raise protective tariff walls.

Under the Stambolov government, laws were enacted in 1894 for preferential treatment of Bulgarian industry. This same year, the conservative party government of Stoilov came to power. The conservatives were responsible for taxation of real estate instead of agricultural yield. In 1897, the conservative Stoilov government succeeded in breaking the stranglehold of the Treaty of Berlin. New trade agreements provided a tariff wall to protect home-grown industry. The governments of Stambolov and Stoilov succeeded in opening up vast opportunities for further economic development. In this sense, they pioneered the way.

2. From 1900 to 1912

During the first decade of the 20th century, many banks became shareholders in industrial enterprises. This helped in the growth of large-scale industrial enterprises. At the same time, the first cartel (in tobacco) appeared in Bulgaria. Over 500 new factories were built, bringing the national total to 820. In general, the indices for the development of industry (the number of enterprises and the number of workers in them, the mechanical power level, and the annual production) from 1904 to 1912 showed an increase of 4-5 times; give an idea of the enormous development of the Bulgarian economy, despite the many difficulties and level of backwardness inherited from the five-century Turkish yoke.

Belgian, Russian, English, German and other foreign capital flowed into Bulgaria. By 1906, foreign banks were being opened in Bulgaria, as well as banks that combined Bulgarian and foreign capital. Growth continued in the total numbers of fields planted, grain exported, farm machinery imported, railroads and highways built, new telegraph and telephone wires strung. The rapid rate of expansion came to a sharp halt during the Balkan Wars and World War I.

3. Between World Wars I and II

At the end of World War I, Bulgarian industry was represented by 1,544 enterprises with 55,717 workers and 5,083,000 leva of invested capital. The Stambolisky government abolished the widespread speculation in grain and encouraged the establishment of co-operatives. It created a consortium which held a monopoly in the export of grain. The consortium established fixed prices for the domestic market and lower prices for the foreign market, in order to meet foreign competition. The Stambolisky government also established labor conscription. Through this innovation, many important undertakings were started in the construction of railroads, highways, canals and other projects. All healthy males over 20 had to serve for one year; all fit women over 16, for six months. In addition, all barren land reverted to the state and was paid for accordingly. Thus, land was available for a new redistribution to those poor and landless peasants who wanted land of their own to farm. Large estates were limited in size for the same purpose.

From 1920 to 1923, 379 new industrial enterprises were established and 211 joint-stock companies were founded with capital assets of 466,171,000 leva. This progress was achieved despite the economic

crisis that was affecting much of the world in the depression of 1920. A stabilization period followed during the years 1926-1929 (Liapchov's government). By 1930, industrial production had risen to 7,820,000,000 leva from a 1921 level of 4,094,000,000 leva. By the end of 1928, there were 622 joint-stock companies in the country, with capital assets of 3,167,700,000 leva, of which 985,400,000 leva represented foreign capital.

The world-wide depression of 1929-1933 affected the Bulgarian economy as well. Foreign trade was the first to feel its impact, then the gold backing of the lev. The government was unable to meet its obligations relating to reparations. Despite all government measures, the situation remained critical. The greatest weight of adversity fell on the rural sector. Industry passed through a heavy period of adjustment and consolidation, with the bigger industrial enterprises displaying a certain expansive tendency at the expense of the smaller enterprises. The tobacco industry was especially strongly developed. In the period 1929-1936, the joint-stock companies were strengthened as a natural reaction to the insecurity of money. As regards invested capital, cement occupied first place, with textile and sugar following. The government passed legislation aimed at improving the widespread unemployment and the large amount of debtor liabilities.

State-sponsored measures succeeded in reviving some sectors of the economy, but a new world economic crisis came in 1937. In this difficult period, the foreign policy of Bulgaria was oriented toward Germany. Highly industrialized Germany needed the agricultural produce of Bulgaria, as Bulgaria needed a market to sell its agricultural produce and to buy machine products. This economic link was made even stronger by a Bulgarian foreign policy of pro-German and pro-Italian cooperation. Export and import to Germany in this period, in percentages of the total export-import situation, ran as follows:

	Export	Import
1936	48%	61%
1939	67%	65%

Thus, at the beginning of World War II, Bulgaria was economically dependent on Germany. In 1941, Germany accounted for 72.5% of the total Bulgarian import and 70.2% of the total export. Bulgaria was found in this situation on the eve of 1944, when the Soviet army crossed the northern frontier.

4. From 1944 to the Present

The events that followed after 1944 developed with a tragic swiftness. The occupation of the country by the Soviet army, and the

imposition of a Communist government by the Russians, marked the beginning of the period of the bolshevization of Bulgaria. The purely Bolshevik form of economic structuring began in 1947 with the so-called "Two Year Preparatory Plan (1947-1948)." Two trade agreements with the USSR were concluded. At the end of 1947, banks, mines and most industries were nationalized. All private banks were forced to merge into The Bulgarian National Bank.

The industrial categorical breakdown was modeled after the Soviet pattern, in which the various areas of enterprise were grouped within government-set divisions. In the beginning, 20 industrial "complexes" were established. During this time, the artisans were forced into the so-called "Producers' Co-operatives of Craftsmen," as indicated in the table below:

	1944	1947	1948
Members	3,282	27,442	44,000
Co-operatives	86	713	1,037

The First Five Year Plan, covering the years 1949-1952, was "completed" in four years. It was conducted with bloodshed, terror and a widely spread system of concentration camps. Peasants' revolts were put down. The purpose of the Bolshevik-oriented regime was to change the correlation between Bulgaria's industrial and rural economic productions. According to official data, this correlation has been changed as follows:

	1939	1948	1952
Industry	27.1%	39.4%	55.9%
Rural Economy	72.9%	60.6%	44.1%

During the same period, the regime transformed the correlation between the Socialist sector (state and co-operative ownership) and the private sector. It did this in the following manner:

	1939	1948	1952
Socialist sector	—	44.5%	87%
Private sector	100	55.5%	13%

During the First Five Year Plan, the Socialist sector comprised all transport, credit, and foreign and domestic trade as well as more than half of the rural economy. The most characteristic change, however, was in the correlation between the volume of heavy industry

production and the volume of light industry production. By 1952, this correlation was 46.7% and 53.3%, respectively. The proletarization of the masses proceeded simultaneously; while in 1948 workers and employees numbered 330,000, during 1952 their numbers rose to 970,000.

In 1950, the "Model statute of the collective farms" (TKZS) was adopted; with some minor modifications it was patterned on the Soviet kolkhoz statute. Collectivization of land, under the First Five Year Plan, proceeded as follows:

	Collective farms	% Farmers	% Arable land
1944	28	—	—
1946	480	3.7%	3.5%
1948	1,110	11.2%	6 %
1952	2,747	52.3%	60.5%

The forced collectivization of arable land reached its peak in 1950. The number of collective farms in that year increased by 1,000 as compared to 1949. During this period, 100 DZS (state farms) and 140 MTS (machine and tractor stations) were established. At the end of the First Five Year Plan, 60% of the arable land and 50% of all farms were turned into "co-operatives."

In 1950, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party introduced a new system of compulsory state supplies, in which the farmers were obliged to give to the state a fixed quantity of grain, according to the acreage farmed, regardless of the yield. In 1951, a new Labor Code was put into effect, job passports were issued and it was forbidden to change one's job. The First Five Year Plan also saw the peak of Bulgarian-Soviet amalgamations in business, such as in aeronautic transport (TABSO), construction (SovBolStroi) and mining. Many of the former German enterprises in Bulgaria were absorbed into combined Soviet-Bulgarian enterprises, in accordance with the terms of the Potsdam Conference. A special agreement was concluded with Romania to ensure continued use of the electric energy obtained for the industrial region of Russe and parts of Dobrudja (north-east Bulgaria).

The Second Five Year Plan covered the years 1953 to 1957. Its purpose was the same as of the First Five Year Plan: to continue the expansion of industrialization, with a preference for heavy industry, and to intensify the collectivization of the land. A comparison of capital investments made during each of the first two Five Year Plans clearly shows the preferred area of Bolshevik economic policy:

	1949-1952	1953-1957
Industry	5.9 billion leva	13 billion leva
Agriculture	1.2 " "	3.2 " "
Transport and Communications	2.1 " "	3.1 " "
Others	2.8 " "	4.7 " "
Total	12.0 billion leva	24.0 billion leva

The preferred industry category can be further subdivided into heavy and light industry. A breakdown of capital invested in these subdivisions indicates the Bolshevik preference here:

	1939	1948	1952	1955
Heavy Industry	29%	35%	39.1%	45.2%
Light Industry	71%	65%	60.9%	54.8%

In 1957, the Labor Code was revised. In agriculture, the tempo of collectivization was speeded up toward the end of the Second Five Year Plan. It prepared the groundwork for "the great leap forward," which started in the beginning of the Third Plan, as can be seen from the following table:

	Collective farms (TKZS)	Farmers per farm	Average Acreage per farm
1953	2,744	207	2,127 acres
1958	3,290	374	2,850 "

According to *Zemedelsko Zname* of April 10, 1958, the Socialist sector of the national economy comprised:

- 98% of the entire industrial production
- 87% of the entire rural-economic production
- 99% of the domestic trade
- 93% of the national income.

The *Third Five Year Plan*, covering the years 1958-1960, began under such circumstances. It opened the period of "the great leap forward," following the example of the Chinese Communists. Although called a Five Year Plan, the Third Plan was interrupted in 1960 and transferred outright to the next, "Fourth" Five Year Plan, in order to be brought in line with the General Perspective Twenty Year Plan outlined by the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The most important event during this period was the "Thesis" of Todor Zhivkov in 1959, which outlined the theoretical phases by which socialism would pass into communism. The first year of the Third Plan saw the beginning of the so-called "consolidation" of the collective farms (TKZS) during which 3,290 co-operative farms were reduced to 972, averaging 1,328 farmers and 10,000 dekars (2,500 acres) for each TKZS. A radical reorganization, both administrative and economic, was undertaken. New districts were created, which in many respects resembled the Chinese communes. The former "compulsory agricultural supplies" were collected according to a new method. Toward the end of the Third Plan, the agricultural inventory counted 40,000 tractors and 8,000 combines. On the eve of the Fourth Plan, the Soviets allotted a 650-million-ruble loan for the fulfilment of the plan.

The Fourth Five Year Plan covers the years 1961-1965. It follows the directives laid down by the General Perspective for the years 1961-1980. The major goals of the Twenty Year Plan (1961-1980) are: to increase industrial production, machine construction, the output of chemicals, farm goods, stock breeding, electric power, steel, and to satisfy consumer demands in the areas of food production and light industry. It is foreseen that the tempo of production for the period 1961-1980 must be much faster than in other "people's democracies" if the same level of economic development is to be attained by 1980. This means that instead of any immediate improvement in the condition of workers and peasants, more efforts and sacrifices will be demanded of them for the sake of the future.

The goals of the General Perspective Plan for the period 1961-1980 include complete nationalization of all economic sectors and the effacing of the differences between the industrial and agricultural labor force. It is further proposed to remove the differences between qualified and simple, heavy and light, city and village labor. The final goal is the realization of communism in passing from the Socialist principle of distribution ("from everyone according to his ability, to everyone according to his labor") to the Communist principle ("from everyone according to his ability, to everyone according to his needs"). The Communist planners hope that by 1980 a certain economic integration will be achieved within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). This integration will require a more intense exploitation, will worsen the labor conditions, and will, therefore, postpone the improvement of the living standard of the working class. Such are the important lines of economic development which the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party has laid down for the future.

IV.

CULTURE

IN 893, the Bulgarians accepted the Slavonic language, later known as "Old Bulgarian," as their official tongue. A literature that is today called "Old Slavonic" came into being, concerned with ecclesiastical matters.

The Old Bulgarian alphabet used in this early ecclesiastical literature was created by two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, of Salonica; they have since been canonized in the Eastern Orthodox Church. Their alphabet, first known as *Glagolitsa*, is called "Cyrillic" in its present-day modified form. The use of the Cyrillic alphabet in Bulgaria was furthered by the disciples of Cyril and Methodius, notably Kliment and Naum. Kliment founded a school at Ochrid, and Naum founded another at Preslav.

The schools at Ochrid and Preslav became important centers of Bulgarian literature. At Ochrid, Kliment (d. 916) authored twenty-seven works. At Preslav, many books were translated from Greek into Bulgarian. This period, under the reign of King Simeon I (865-927), is known as the "golden age" of Bulgarian literature.

The first important secular writer to break away from religious themes was Chernorizets Khrabur. His *About the Letters* is a polemic in defense of the young Bulgarian literature against attacks from Greek writers.

Owing to the literary activities in medieval Bulgaria, the Bulgarian alphabet was adopted in the course of time by other Slavic peoples — Serbs, Cossacks, Russians and Ukrainians.

1. Under the Byzantine Yoke

In 1018, Bulgaria fell under the Byzantine yoke. The young Bulgarian language, which had developed in the course of 125 years

as a state and church language, now received a near-fatal blow. The Byzantine government re-introduced the Greek language to Bulgaria as a literary medium for church and state matters.

This interruption in the development of the Bulgarian national culture continued during the second phase of Byzantine influence, termed the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1187-1396). Still, many books were written and copied in the Bulgarian language, such as *Istoriki* (History), a book containing, in brief, events from the time of Abraham to the 12th century.

The most distinguished cultural figure of this epoch was Patriarch Evtimi. He founded a school at Tirnovo for the dissemination of Bulgarian literature. Patriarch Evtimi is the author of many biographies of saints and martyrs, the most famous being the life of St. John of Rila.

2. Under the Turkish Yoke

Bulgaria fell under Turkish rule in 1396. Every kind of national cultural life ceased. Books were neither written nor translated into Bulgarian. Many writers were killed and many books burned.

Bulgarian literature survived in exile. Some Bulgarian writers escaped to other Slavic countries and continued their work in the national tradition. One of these writers was Grigori Tsamblak who, in 1414, was elected Metropolitan of Kiev. He died about 1450, after having written over fifty theological books—all of them in the Bulgarian language. Due to his efforts, Bulgarian for long remained the official language north of the Danube, in what is nowadays Romania. Another distinguished writer-in-exile was Konstantin Kostencchki, who founded a school in Serbia. He prepared a Bulgarian grammar stressing a phonetic approach to the alphabet.

From 1396 to 1878, Bulgaria was under a double yoke—the political yoke of the Turks and the spiritual yoke of the Greeks. The Bulgarians were threatened with the extinction of their national identity. But in 1762, there came a call to a national awakening from a monk, Father Paisi of Athos. His *Sloveno-Bulgarian History*, with its deep pride in the Bulgarian national past, stirred up deep feelings of national identity, which saved the Bulgarians from being assimilated by others.

3. From the National Revival to Modern Times

Father Paisi's work was written by hand, for there was as yet no printing press in Bulgaria. Bulgarian literature developed out of

the national revival created by this lone work. The poet Dimitar Popski wrote a famous ode in 1813 to the leader of the national revival of that time—Sofroni Vrachanski. The first poem written in the Bulgarian language *Stoyan and Rada* (1845) was the work of Naiden Gerov (1823-1867). Other important writers and poets include Georgi Rakovski (1821-1867), Petko Slaveikov (1828-1895) and Dobri Chintulov (1823-1886). The leading Bulgarian poet was Christo Botev (1848-1876), who died fighting the Turks.

The outstanding Bulgarian novelist was Lyuben Karavelov (1835-1879), whose most popular novel is *Bulgarians of Old Times*. Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) has been called the Patriarch of Bulgarian literature. His novel *Under the Yoke*, the first of its genre in Bulgaria, depicts life under Turkish domination. The *narodnitsi*, or populists, were a group of novelists loyal to the national aspirations. They include Todor Vlaikov (1865-1943), Tsanko Tserkovski (1869-1926), Mihalaki Georgiev (1854-1916), Stoyan Mihailovski (1856-1927) and Anton Strashimirov (1869-1942).

Soon after the Liberation, under the influence of German literature and philosophy, aesthetic individualism emerged, represented by the critic Dr. Krustiu Krustev (1866-1919) and the poets Pencho Slaveikov (1866-1921) and Kiril Christov (1875-1944).

The disappointments met by the Bulgarian people in their struggle for national unification resounded in the works of Bulgarian writers in the period preceding and following World War I. The tone was one of melancholy and despair. It was then that symbolism appeared, notably in the works of Teodor Traianov (1885-1945), P. K. Yavorov (1877-1914), Dimcho Debelianov (1887-1916), and Nikolai Liliev (1885-1960).

The majority of modern Bulgarian writers deal with the problem of everyday life, continuing in the tradition of the *narodnitsi*. They are best represented by Jordan Iovkov (1880-1937), Elin Pelin (1877-1949), Konstantin Petkanov (1891-1952) and Angel Karalichev (b. 1902).

4. Art

The oldest monuments of Bulgarian art are mural paintings in the monastery of Bachkovo, dating back to the 12th century. Small cross-shaped churches with domes were built in Bulgaria from the 12th to the 14th centuries. The influence of Byzantine and Oriental art was later balanced by that of western Europe. The principal center for painting was at Tirnovo.

Modern Bulgarian artists of prominence are Anton Mitov and Ivan Angelov as well as the sculptors Andrei Nikolov and Ivan Lazarov.

5. Theater and Music

The National Opera was founded in Sofia in 1890, and the National Theater in 1907. World famous Bulgarian singers are Luba Velich, Boris Christov and Elena Nikolai. The best-known composers include A. Bukureshtiev, Dobri Christov, Pancho Vladigerov and Petko Stainov.

6. Under Communism

All cultural activity in Bulgaria today is managed and supervised, openly or secretly, by the Communist Party. Each cultural and educational institution or organization is under the control of the Communist Party, and is compelled to give voice to the Party's dictates. The state, i.e. the Communist Party, disposes of all the means for dissemination of culture.

Since 1947, Bulgarian literature and art have become tools for Communist propaganda. Bulgarian literary classics not in agreement with Communist policy have been prohibited. The works of Bulgarian writers and poets, as well as of statesmen and publicists, are exposed to total censorship.

One of the first to resist against the Communist Party line in art was the non-Communist writer Trifon Kunev, who died in 1954, after five years of imprisonment. Alexander Zhendov, a Communist Party member and a well-known painter, objected to the rigors of censorship in 1950; he fell into disgrace and committed suicide the next year.

Resistance increased in 1957 as a result of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which came out against "the cult of personality." The most daring single work was the play *Fear* by Todor Guenov. Other writers who have come out against the Party line in art are Pavl Vezhinov, Orlin Vasilev, Emil Manov, Liudmil Stoyanov, and the critic Boris Delchev. The well-known Communist writer Vezhinov stated in 1955 that, owing to Party control, "our creative work is gray and unvarying... the reader cannot distinguish one author from another."

The most outstanding feature of Bulgarian culture today is its satellite character—it is neither Bulgarian, nor original, but an imposed Soviet-type culture, delimited by Communist Party dogma and serving Soviet imperialistic and ideological ends.

V.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The Tirnovo Constitution

WHEN BULGARIA was liberated as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, a draft was prepared for the Basic Law while the country was still under Russian occupation. The draft was presented to the first Constitutional Assembly, which was composed of freely elected or appointed representatives of the people. The assembly was held in the ancient capital of Tirnovo. After much debate, the first Bulgarian Constitution, known as the Tirnovo Constitution, was adopted in 1879. It survived until 1947, with some minor amendments. Then it was abolished and replaced, under the pressure of occupying Russian troops, by a new constitution of Soviet design, which is still in force.

At the time of its creation, the Tirnovo Constitution was described as the most liberal in Europe. It was based, to a large degree, on the Serbian Constitution of 1869. Following the liberal and democratic European tradition, it established a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary form of government. The powers of government were placed in the hands of the National Assembly, which was elected by universal suffrage. The Tirnovo Constitution, furthermore, guaranteed all fundamental human rights and civil liberties.

The power granted to the monarch could only be exercised through his ministers, who were politically responsible both to him and to the National Assembly. Ministers could be impeached by the National Assembly.

To amend the Constitution, the government had to hold elections for a Grand (instead of ordinary) National Assembly, which then decided about the proposed amendments.

The character of the Tirnovo Constitution is well illustrated by Article 57, which provided that all citizens were equal before the law. (Class division, including titles of nobility or similar distinctions, could not exist because of historical circumstances.) The implementation of the liberal nature of the Tirnovo Constitution was sporadically interrupted by the authoritarian ambitions of some monarchs to assume greater powers. Thus, the constitution was violated and the country ruled by governmental decrees. World War II found Bulgaria under such a royalist semi-totalitarian regime.

2. The Communist Constitution

In September, 1944, Russian troops invaded Bulgaria and imposed a Communist regime upon the Bulgarian people. When under Allied pressure the Russians were forced to leave Bulgaria, in December 1947, they made sure to leave a new Constitution behind modeled after the Soviet pattern. A comparison of the texts of the Communist Constitution of Bulgaria and the Soviet Constitution of the USSR shows a striking similarity in content and form.

Whereas under the Tirnovo Constitution Bulgaria was a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary form of government, the new regime imposed by the Communist Constitution was, in fact, a Communist dictatorship hiding behind the term "people's republic." The Communist Constitution provides for one legislative assembly, which is under the exclusive domination of the Communist Party. All political parties are excluded, except the Communist Party; only one ballot list is allowed, and that one is presented by the government. In fact, freedom of expression, political association and election is denied.

In the judicial sphere, the Communist Constitution provides, in Article 56, that: "Judges are independent; in giving their decisions they act only according to the dictates of the law." In fact, however, they are completely dependent on the dictates of the Communist Party. The Communist Penal Code allows for retroactivity of penal laws as well as interpretation and implementation of penal laws by analogy. Article 2 of the Communist Penal Code states that "a crime is any socially dangerous act... which, although not explicitly provided for by the law, is close in content to the offense defined." Under the democratic regime in Bulgaria, no foreigner could be subjected to extradition for any political offense. This measure of protection was substantially changed by Article 84 of the Communist Constitution, which reads: "Foreigners enjoy the right of sanctuary when they are prosecuted for defending democratic principles, for

struggling for their national liberation, for the rights of workers or the freedom of scientific and cultural activity." This means that only pro-Communists can have political sanctuary.

In the sphere of religion, Article 78 of the Communist Constitution proclaimed a separation of church and state. If one does not know the history of the Bulgarian Church and the vitally important role it played in the preservation of national unity and culture during the 500 years of the Turkish yoke, one might interpret the separation of church and state as a progressive move. But the Bulgarian Church had never exerted an undesirable domination over the state. Under the Communists, the state now exerts an undesirable domination over the church. All church lands and revenues were nationalized. While Article 78 does state that "Citizens are guaranteed freedom of conscience and religion," the fact is that the religious worshiper is persecuted while atheism is openly encouraged. Any non-conformity on the part of the clergy with Marxism-Leninism and the Party line is considered a violation of the Communist Constitution and the offender becomes a target for pressure to be brought to bear.

In the sphere of education, Article 78 of the Communist Constitution provides that: "Schools are run by the state," which is to say that all education is being carried out under Communist domination.

3. The Communist and Soviet Constitution: A Comparison

As was previously pointed out, the Communist Constitution of Bulgaria is but a slavish copy of the Soviet Constitution. The latter has 13 chapters and 146 articles, as compared to the former's 11 chapters and 101 articles. The chapters omitted from the Communist Constitution of Bulgaria that appear in the Soviet Constitution refer to the relations of the Soviet Union to the individual Soviet states, which, of course, could not be applied to Bulgaria. Otherwise, all the main features of the Soviet Constitution can be found in the Communist Constitution. The terms "people's republic" and "people's democracy" are attempts to affirm verbally, by means of tautological repetition, the existence of what does not exist at all: a democratic state. In the same manner, the Soviets use the words "representative government," while, in actual fact, the real master of the country is the head of the executive arm, the premier, who takes his orders from Moscow. Aside from the premier, the whole state machinery is controlled from top to bottom by the Communist Party.

But Bulgaria today is not only a state under the totalitarian regime of a proletarian dictatorship. She is also a so-called "Socialist state" modeled on the Soviet pattern: All its means of production are socialized, industry and credit are nationalized, agricultural lands are almost completely collectivized, large estates and town properties have been taken over and ownership is rigidly restricted. The only difference in this respect between the Communist Constitution of Bulgaria and the Soviet Constitution is that the former did not yet formally declare the land and the houses as state property. But housing accommodations have already been pretty much expropriated by the law governing large town properties, and the rural land has undergone the first stage of expropriation under the law for the agricultural co-operative organizations.

There is, however, some difference in application between the Communist Bulgarian and Soviet Constitutions. The principle applied in the U.S.S.R., according to the Socialistic system, is that property belongs to the state. But private ownership is recognized on small farms, dwelling houses, household commodities and furniture, objects of personal use and comfort as well as income acquired by labor and thrift. Under the Communist Constitution of Bulgaria, private ownership is recognized in the right to inherit property, and private enterprise is recognized in principle. But private monopolistic agreements and associations, such as cartels, trusts and concerns, are prohibited. Private property may be restricted and expropriated for reasons of state and public utility. In other words, private ownership in the U.S.S.R. is abolished in theory, but small ownership is permitted in fact. In Bulgaria, private ownership is recognized in theory, but large scale ownership is prohibited in fact. In both cases, the means of production are state property. Thus, in practice, the difference between the two systems is only a matter of degree. As regards land in Bulgaria, it may be privately owned and belong in principle to those who cultivate it, but large private land ownership is prohibited; such land is reserved for the state farms.

Under the Communist Constitution there is only one house of the National Assembly as opposed to the U.S.S.R., where there are two. This difference, again, is explained by the fact that Bulgaria is not a federal state, whereas the U.S.S.R. is. The legislative body in both Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. has the right to elect the collective head of state, the Presidium.

4. Terminology

Terminology throughout the two constitutions is often in direct opposition to the actual state of affairs. Thus, "freedom of conscience"

means complete suppression and extermination of all political antagonists. "Right of work" means compulsory obligation to work, even as slave labor in concentration camps. "Freedom of science" means obedience to the Marxist-Leninist dogmas and Communist Party commands. "Right of education" means the mass expulsion of non-Communist students from schools and universities and the education of those students alone who are sponsored by "politically reliable" people. "Equality of all citizens before the law" means material and moral privileges for the leading members of the Communist Party and for high officials, while misery is the lot of others. "No one may be arrested and detained for more than 48 hours without a decision of the judicial authorities or by the public prosecutor's office" means that anybody may be arrested arbitrarily by the police at any time and for any length of time and may disappear without a trace. "Homes are inviolable" means that they may be intruded upon at any time by police or Communist Party agents, all possessions seized and the owner or tenant deported to points unknown. Thus, "freedom" means yoke; "people's democracy" means dictatorship; "national independence" means complete subordination of Bulgaria to the Soviet Union.

Such is the true image of the Communist Constitution and the Communist legal order and political regime in Bulgaria today.

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